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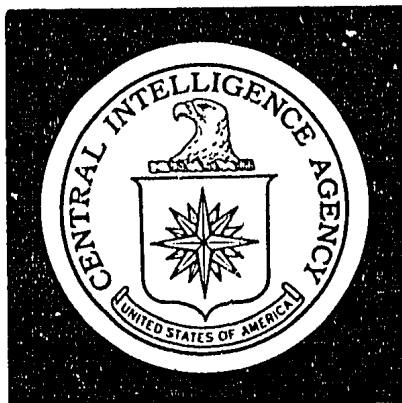
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DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence Memorandum

Black Radicalism in the Caribbean--Another Look

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
12 June 1970

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Black Radicalism in the Caribbean--Another Look

Summary

The events in Trinidad earlier this year caused a strong reaction throughout the Caribbean and have focused attention on black radicals in the area. For several weeks beginning in late February, Trinidad experienced a series of demonstrations inspired by black power leaders that culminated in the imposition of a state of emergency and a revolt by the island's armed forces.

In many ways the developments in Trinidad are symptomatic of similar conditions elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Since these events other governments throughout the area have become more sensitive to the potential political problems that might be created by black extremists. At the same time, these extremists and other groups with similar goals have now become more aware that fertile conditions for exploitation exist.

Country-by-country assessments of Caribbean black power movements are provided in the Annex.

Note: This memorandum was produced solely by CIA. It was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated with the Office of National Estimates and the Directorate of Plans.

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Recent Trends

1. In recent months, many Caribbean leaders have changed their attitude toward black radical influence. There now appears to be a pervasive feeling that the demands of black power groups can no longer be disregarded without the possibility of some political risk. Many of Trinidad's recent difficulties can be attributed to Prime Minister Williams' failure to recognize early the danger of black extremism, and many island leaders have at least temporarily taken a harder line toward the possibility of violent black power activities. There is also considerable confusion as to how the new political threat should be handled.

2. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana believes black radical influence is important enough to warrant special attention. He seems determined to maintain a cordial relationship with the major black power group, the African Society for Cultural Relations with Africa (ASCRIA). Eusi Kwayana, the leader of ASCRIA, holds two important government posts and is frequently consulted by Burnham. Unlike Williams in Trinidad, Burnham shows evidence of having at least partially succeeded in establishing rapport with black radicals, although one smaller militant group (Ratoon) remains openly opposed to him.

3. Security considerations have also become important in official thinking about black extremist activity, particularly since the Trinidad disturbances. Jamaica's Prime Minister Hugh Shearer has stated flatly that if disturbances similar to those in Trinidad erupt in Jamaica he would not hesitate to crush them. Barbados has passed new legislation designed to strengthen its security controls because of fear of possible disturbances incited by black power advocates. Prime Minister Barrows' decision to ban the Second Regional Black Power Conference, which was scheduled to be held in Barbados, reflects his concern over the possibility of violence in connection with the meeting.

4. In a radiobroadcast on 3 May 1970, Grenadian Premier Eric Gairy denounced black power as being

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"fraught with hypocrisy." He said that Grenada is doubling its police force and is bringing in "new and modern supplies and equipment." He added that he has no doubt that black power, as manifested in Trinidad, could do a tremendous amount of harm to his country. He quoted a local adage that "one should wet his own house when his neighbor's is on fire." Minister of State Ramphal of Guyana has raised the possibility of creating a Caribbean defense force to protect the smaller territories whose own forces are inadequate. A number of the islands have banned visits by well-known agitators. St. Vincent announced in April that 20 black power leaders had been declared undesirable and would not be permitted to visit the island. There is fear among some opposition groups that governments may use the excuse of black power threats to impose harsh restrictions against all opponents.

5. Outside Trinidad, however, there have been no major disorders during the past year. When labor strikes have occurred or controversial public issues have emerged, radicals have usually shown little ability to take advantage of the opportunity.

Implications for US and Other Foreign Interests

6. Burnham and other leaders can be expected to use black power pressures for their own purposes. This will be most evident when negotiations with foreign-owned industry are concerned. It is being heard more frequently that local interests must obtain a larger share of foreign-owned business in order to avoid charges of "sell-out" to white domination. This kind of claim has been made, or at least implied, in Jamaica during government-industry discussions concerning the large US-owned bauxite operations. The same sort of argument is offered by Guyanese leaders in regard to the need for "meaningful participation" by local interests in the sugar industry, which is largely British owned, and bauxite, which is Canadian and US owned, as well as other businesses. Trinidad's Prime Minister Williams has requested recently that large foreign-owned businesses turn over a share of their stock to the government.

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In Barbados, the government is bringing about pressure on the business community to place more Negroes in managerial positions. The government has threatened to introduce legislation that would compel business firms to do so if they refuse to cooperate. At the "Caribbean Summit Meeting" earlier this year, Guyana's Prime Minister Burnham devoted a major portion of his speech to criticizing foreign interests in the region and urging nationalistic policies. These kinds of demands frequently reflect both a natural concern for national interests and a genuine fear of black power threats.

7. Pressures from black nationalists and their allies could encourage local leaders to request that the US relinquish control of its military and other installations in the region. Trinidad already has privately asked that the US give up all of its assets in the Chaguarmas complex, including a satellite tracking station and a naval support facility. Similar requests could be made by Antigua, the Bahamas, St. Lucia, and the other islands where there are US facilities.

8. At the same time, the US could face sudden requests for military assistance from governments threatened with serious public disorders. Prime Minister Williams of Trinidad had asked for both troops and arms from the US and several other countries before settling for the purchase of two plane loads of arms from the US. Barbados has already hinted that it is interested in acquiring weapons from the US for riot control. The obvious reluctance of the British to become involved in local security problems in their former colonies increases the likelihood that those states would look to the US for emergency aid.

Black Radical Activities

9. During the past year, the potential of black power as a political and social force in the Caribbean has grown. New Negro-based radical groups have appeared, and a number of others that existed earlier have shown signs of becoming more active. The various black radical organizations share a number of similar goals, but in some respects differ greatly. Among virtually all black radicals in the Caribbean

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a still-imprecise black nationalism is a strong force. It is expressed in such terms as a "better deal for the black man." The programs tend to stress the promotion of an awareness among Negroes of their cultural heritage and identity. The intention generally is to bring pressure on political leaders to develop societies that more closely reflect the interests of the local, predominantly Negro, population. A fundamental notion in this thinking, which is not always clearly articulated, is that the roots with the British and other colonial cultures must be broken.

10. The strongest expressions of nationalism are related to economic goals. Many black radicals consider it an absolute necessity that local control be asserted over foreign-owned business enterprises--particularly those owned by whites. This is a constantly recurring theme in the numerous black power publications, in discussions, and at protest meetings. The argument is that while political leadership is Negro, the regimes are "black fronts manipulated by white power." It is pointed out that US, Canadian, and British companies, along with the local white minorities, the Chinese, and other non-Negroes, control the economies. Light-skinned Negroes are often included in the "economic class." Governments are criticized by the radicals for permitting continuation of white economic domination.

11. Most black radical groups have been primarily engaged in public education or study group activities with relatively little direct political involvement. During the past year, however, black radicals have shown an increasing interest in political action. In Trinidad, for example, black power leader Geddes Granger, working through his National Joint Action Committee, emphasized the use of demonstrations and marches to bring pressure on the government. Granger collaborated with labor leaders, notably Georges Weekes, the president of the Oilfield Workers Trade Union, and Clive Nunez, the chief organizer of the Transport and Industrial Workers Union. At the time of his arrest in April, Granger was seeking to expand his efforts among the East Indian sugar workers.

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12. A small minority of black extremists espouse a revolutionary line aimed at the violent overthrow of established governments even when they are controlled by Negroes, as most are. Geddes Granger's rhetoric suggested that he had evolved to this point of view when he saw an opportunity to ride a strong undercurrent of discontent in Trinidad. In Guyana, the Ratoon group, which commands much less support than the more moderate ASCRIA, strongly opposes Prime Minister Burnham and probably is close to being a revolutionary organization.

13. Black power organizations in the Caribbean draw their support from a wide variety of groups, although the combinations differ from country to country. A source of black power activity in Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad is the local branch of the University of the West Indies. In Bermuda, the most prominent exponent of black power is Roosevelt Brown, an opposition member of parliament. Brown organized the First Regional Black Power Conference, which was held last year in Bermuda, and he was also the main force behind the second meeting planned for this summer. An important member of the Trinidad cabinet, former external affairs minister A. N. R. Robinson, who resigned earlier this year, has supported black power groups and may now plan to devote more time to black power efforts. In St. Vincent, most of the educated young people on the island, primarily civil servants and teachers, are members of the Educational Forum of the People, the island's strongest black power organization.

Related Factors

14. The unsettled social conditions in much of the Caribbean offer opportunities for exploitation by extremists. Widespread poverty, high levels of unemployment, and the inability of governments to achieve effective solutions to these and other problems have contributed to public disquiet. Public dissatisfaction is sometimes manifested in racial friction, which in several places is always close to the surface. Black extremist

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agitation, in turn, kindles racial tensions. Whites can easily become the target of racial hostility, partly because of their relative affluence. The Caribbean societies are vulnerable, however, to other racial divisions as well. For example, East Indians comprise the majority of the population in Guyana and a large percentage of the population in Trinidad.

International Ties

15. The growth--however uneven--of black radicalism in the Caribbean suggests a definite potential for development of a regional movement. Thus far, however, ties among the various black power groups have been very loose. The 1969 Black Power Conference in a sense was a beginning of regional collaboration, but it produced few results in this direction. If the second conference takes place, it may give impetus to coordinated efforts among those represented. The United Caribbean Association of Black People, which was formed last month in the US Virgin Islands, apparently plans to organize activities throughout the West Indies.

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16. Available evidence suggests that contact between Caribbean groups and the black power movement in the US is infrequent.

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17. Cuba has continued to remain aloof from the black radicals of the region. Given an opportunity, Castro could decide to support an effective black extremist movement. In the meantime, he continues to show interest in broadening his diplomatic and small-scale economic contacts with Trinidad and

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other Caribbean neighbors. The Castro regime is probably waiting to see how black radical influence progresses in the Caribbean and is probably weighing the options available. Unlike its fairly frequent contact with black radicals in the US, Cuba has refrained from more than occasional communications with, and expressions of moral support for, the Caribbean groups.

Conclusions

18. The influence of black radicalism is likely to spread in the Caribbean and in some countries may lead to important changes in the traditional politics. The extent to which the radicals are able to cause change will depend on the effectiveness of their leaders, which are now lacking for the most part, and on local conditions. The degree to which black radical forces strain the existing political and economic structures will depend largely on the flexibility of the national leaders and their astuteness in balancing radical pressures and traditional interests. Despite the still serious deficiencies among most of the black extremist organizations (lack of leadership, poor organization, shortage of funds) the ideas that they are promoting seem to be having considerable impact, particularly among youth. Reports of increasing expressions of resentment against white travelers, for example, can be attributed partly to racial sensitivities fanned by black radicals. As elections come due in Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, and elsewhere during the next year or two, black radical views are likely to become more pervasive, and established political groups are likely to continue to show greater willingness to adopt black power slogans.

19. A few of the black power groups may resort to violent tactics, particularly during periods of unrest. Granger's rise in Trinidad as a militant leader was due at least as much to the undercurrent of social unrest and government ineptness as to his personal effectiveness. Through good timing and revolutionary rhetoric others may be able to turn resentment among workers, students, and others into violent protest.

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ANNEX

BARBADOS

1. Black extremists in Barbados remain few in number, are loosely organized, and thus far have only slight, but increasing, political influence. Black power activities are centered in the loosely structured People's Progressive Movement (PPM) and the smaller University Student Front.

2. The PPM, which was organized in 1966, attempts to relate racial issues to the political and economic frustrations of the lower classes. It also espouses a mixture of Cuban- and Peking-oriented Marxism, which apparently is not deeply understood by its 50 or more members. It maintains occasional contact with Guyana's Marxist leader Cheddi Jagan, who for some time has attempted to promote interest in a conference of "anti-imperialist" forces. The University Student Front, formed in 1968, is composed of a small group of students at the Barbados campus of the University of the West Indies. There is no evidence that either the Front or the PPM have broad popular support. Indeed, the students seem to have alienated the majority of the population by their rowdy and disruptive behavior at small rallies.

3. A recent arrival on the black power scene in Barbados is Robert "Bobby" Clarke, the local organizer of the Second Regional Black Power Conference, which was originally scheduled to be held in Barbados. Clarke's disunited following is drawn from the young and unemployed of Bridgetown.

4. The Black Star, a fortnightly newsletter that was published by the PPM and devoted much of its space to the black power theme, has not been issued since May 1969, reportedly because of financial problems. There is no evidence that any other publication has taken its place. The Black Star Book Shop, however, sells Marxist and kindred ideological material not normally found in Barbadian book stores.

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5. Black power activities are less extensive in Barbados and may be slower to develop into an organized political force than elsewhere in the Caribbean. It is possible, however, that the latent frustrations of the lower economic masses could be easily stirred by promises of black power. Barbados' racial mixture--80 percent Negro and 20 percent mixed or white--is typical of other islands in the Caribbean. The Negroes have political power and numerical superiority, but lack economic power, which is a favorite black power theme.

6. Although neither major black power group nor the various individuals constitute a significant political force, Prime Minister Errol Barrow has strongly denounced the racist tactics and revolutionary declarations espoused by these elements. His position toward black power activities has hardened as a result of the Trinidad disorders. Many outspoken militants have been banned from entering Barbados, and all non-Barbadians have been banned from speaking at political rallies. All speakers and topics must be cleared by the government before permits are issued for holding public meetings. The government's new Public Law and Order Act, which would make it a crime to preach racial hatred or violence, is now before the House of Assembly for approval. The Prime Minister apparently felt that current laws are not adequate to cope with the incipient threat posed by uncontrolled black power elements. Barrow has also revoked the government's invitation to host the Second Regional Black Power Conference scheduled for July. The Prime Minister apparently feared the possibility of violence which could have affected the important tourist trade and left him vulnerable to political attack.

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GUYANA

1. The black power movement in Guyana has continued to be active, and during the past year has developed a radical wing. The main black power organization is the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA). It was formed in 1964 primarily to develop educational programs related to African history, culture, and language, and to emphasize the African heritage of black Guyanese. The group numbers between 200 and 300 members and has several thousand sympathizers. It is led by Sydney King, who has assumed the African name of Eusi Kwayana. Kwayana began to reorient the organization toward an aggressive racist position in 1968 with the avowed goal of destroying white influence in the country. The organization has limited its political activities to protest meetings and small demonstrations, however.

2. The popular Kwayana's position as chairman of the Guyana Marketing Corporation, a government entity, gives him influence within Prime Minister Burnham's party, the Peoples National Congress. Although Burnham is aware of Kwayana's political ambitions and does not trust him, he sees the benefit of having Kwayana in his administration as long as he maintains the upper hand. Although Burnham sympathizes with Kwayana and the black power movement in general, he does not wish to antagonize the large East Indian voting bloc and this combined with his Western outlook, prevent him from supporting Kwayana's more extremist views.

3. The newly formed and more radical black power element in Guyana is the Ratoon Group. This group is composed primarily of radical university students and faculty members. It publishes a monthly newsletter, Ratoon which stresses black power, new world, and various leftist themes. The group is led by Dr. Omowale, the African name of Dr. Walter Green, an instructor at the University of Guyana. The goal of the Ratoon Group

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is the promotion of a multiracial revolutionary struggle based on class rather than race.

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5. The East Indians in the opposition Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) led by Marxist Cheddi Jagan are involved in black power activities to some extent. The PPP has supported the Ratoon Group in its attacks on the government and supports a class struggle over race in attaining economic freedom. However, the strong antagonisms between Negroes and East Indians hinder any close association between Jagan and black power groups.

6. Guyana was the site for the three-day Pan-African and Black Revolutionary National Seminar last February. In a speech to the seminar, Burnham went out of his way to express solidarity with the black power cause throughout the world. He said that the main problem in the Caribbean is that the assumption of political power does not automatically give economic power to the Negro. He used Guyana as an example by pointing out that black people already have political power and that his cooperative economic scheme is in the process of vesting economic power in black hands. He also said that exiled "freedom fighters" can find a refuge in his country. Burnham apparently is trying to disarm black power militants by acceding to their demands and adjusting his policies in their direction.

7. Burnham has tried to persuade other Caribbean leaders that violent agitators should be controlled after they arrive in a country but should not be banned. He feels that black power is a force to be reckoned with in the Caribbean and that the movement could be turned against all authority if dissidents are not controlled.

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JAMAICA

1. The black power movement has evoked only moderate interest among Jamaicans. Lacking an issue and a leader, the black power activists remain splintered and largely ineffective. They have been unable to capitalize on the deep-seated poverty and widespread unemployment in the Kingston area. In fact, their organizational strength has eroded during the past year.

2. There are several small black radical organizations, some of which call for armed revolution. Among these are the African National Union led by Marcus Garvey, Jr., and Jama-Youth, which calls for economic and social change through revolution and the exclusion of non-Negroes. The Council for Afro-Jamaican Affairs, the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), and the Black Solidarity Committee are other representative groups. Their activities are generally limited to infrequent, sparsely attended meetings. In addition, some of the Rastafarians, an amorphous racially oriented cult that wants repatriation to Africa, has lent some support to black power advocates. Another cult that occasionally expresses support for black power themes is Claudius V. Henry's New Creation International Peacemakers Association. This religious-political organization claims several thousand followers, but probably has less than 1,000 members. It has been inactive lately.

3. None of these groups is large enough to be of importance by itself, and there apparently is no leader at present around whom the diverse groups can unite. Some of the groups change their names frequently and some survive for only a brief time. None has a coherent program of action and none seems to be particularly active. All, however, provide potential rallying points for political activists.

4. Some students at the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies support the black power movement, but the majority have not become involved

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in the movement's activities. Moreover, the radical and the more moderate student groups, have split and the general climate on the campus is more subdued than last year. Students seem to be more restrained, in part because security forces seem more prone to take strong measures against disorders and the students do not want to give the government an excuse to close the campus. Many young black power followers have switched support, at least for the present, to the opposition People's National Party. Others have moderated their activity or even dropped out because of family pressure. Black radicals have had even less success to date in the labor field because most unions are closely allied with one of the two major political parties.

5. In the first half of 1969 there was a flurry of organizing and recruiting activity, and in February the black power weekly newspaper Abeng first appeared. The paper, which provided a focal point for the various black radical groups, stirred considerable interest, and circulation rose rapidly. It collapsed in October 1969, however, after a series of power and policy struggles and financial difficulties. Many of the leftist intellectuals associated with the black radicals and Abeng have left Jamaica, although some may return next year.

6. One factor inhibiting the growth of the black power movement is the lack of cooperation between the youthful slum dwellers and the intellectuals and students. The majority of unemployed youths mistrust students and intellectuals, although many are probably willing to take advantage of any opportunity to vandalize or loot. If, however, the black power theme could be more closely tied to economic issues, such as unemployment, more support might be forthcoming from urban youth.

7. Jamaican activists do not seem to participate in black power meetings or conferences outside the country very often. Jamaicans in general apparently are not influenced by Eastern Caribbean black

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power advocates, although some inroads were made at the university by Guyanese lecturers Walter Rodney and C.Y. Thomas. Both have been banned from the country. The Cuban Consulate in Kingston maintains contact with many of the black radicals, but seems to avoid direct involvement in their activities.

8. The Shearer government generally views the extremists as potential rallying points for popular dissatisfaction but not as a political threat. It keeps a close watch on black radical activity through its local intelligence organization, and is ready to take swift and stern measures to prevent actions that might lead to violence. In addition, black power writings are prohibited from the island and many foreign black power radicals are not permitted to enter the country.

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TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

1. Both the disruptive effects and the political potential of the black power movement have been most clearly illustrated in Trinidad. In early 1970, black radicals emerged from relative obscurity without funds or effective organization, to challenge the stability of the government. The months of protest that began in February culminated in a government state of emergency in April, which in turn triggered a mutiny in the defense force. Although the government has firmly re-established its control, the extent of popular support generated by the protests made evident a deep underlying resentment of Prime Minister Williams' slow-moving efforts to promote socioeconomic change. The black power movement helped to vocalize and accelerate a trend already in evidence.

2. The moving force behind the February to April disorders was the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) which was begun in early 1969 by Geddes Granger, a perennial university malcontent. The organization was founded to protest the imprisonment of some West Indian students who had participated in a race riot at Sir George Williams University in Canada. The broader objectives of NJAC have never been clearly defined; it was established to deal with the issue of "black peoples' rights." The NJAC grew into a loose amalgam of the several weak Trinidadian black power organizations. It also attracted some support from leftists in the labor movement--notably George Weakes' Oilfield Workers' Trade Union and Clive Nunez, the chief organizer for the militant Transport and Industrial Workers' Union. The NJAC supported labor protests, as it did almost any opposition cause, but it made little impact until early this year.

3. Several other black power organizations emerged at about the same time. The Black Panther Organization (BPO) led by Aldwym Primus took a more violent line than the NJAC, but it attracted little mass support. The BPO and other groups such as the National Freedom Organization and the Young Power

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Movement either gravitated toward the NJAC or lapsed into semi-obscurity.

4. In February 1970 the NJAC again organized demonstrations to support the West Indian students who had come to trial in Canada. Black Power themes emphasizing economic nationalism quickly dominated the protests, however, and dissent focused on the government. The return of the students from Canada and the payment of their fines by the administration did not slow the tempo of the protests. After sporadic disorders, the government on 21 April declared a state of emergency, arrested many of the protest leaders, and triggered a rebellion in the defense force. More than a week elapsed before the government was able to re-establish its control and arrest the leaders of the mutiny.

5. A number of factors contributed to the meteoric rise of Trinidad's black power movement. The government at first seriously underestimated the potential threat to public safety. Moreover, its typically indecisive response during the initial weeks of protests allowed the demonstrations to gather strength. The administration's proposal in late March to use increased business taxes to spur employment was rejected as too little and too late. The black power emphasis on economic nationalism struck a quick response from the large and growing number of semi-educated, jobless Negro youths in the cities. After 14 years in power, the government had done little to stem rising urban unemployment. The black power vehicle also filled a political vacuum. Williams' only serious rival for power, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), is badly factionalized and ineffective and is largely East Indian rather than Negro. The black urban youth apparently accounted for the bulk of the demonstrators. NJAC efforts to forge a united Negro - East Indian brotherhood banner were unsuccessful. Although Granger and other black power leaders visited the US late last year, and some have also visited Cuba, there is no evidence to suggest that the movement has received any tangible assistance from outside the country.

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6. The details surrounding the army mutiny of 21 April are still not completely clear. Some lower ranking officers were apparently sympathetic to the black power cause and were known to have been in contact with radicals; the government itself was in doubt about the regiment's loyalty. A good part of the wider ranging disgruntlement in the force may have stemmed simply from internal dissatisfaction over the unit's role, salary rate, and staffing. The rebels' initial demand for the appointment of a new commander rather than a political concession suggests this was at least partly the case.

7. The government no longer faces an immediate public order threat, but it is moving to offset black power influence. The Emergency Powers Act was extended in May for six months, almost all black power leaders have been jailed, and plans are afoot to reorganize the regiment. On the political front, Williams has reorganized his cabinet and will probably introduce new legislation in order to dramatize the administration's awareness of the need for change.

8. In the wake of the unrest, Williams has begun to put a financial squeeze on foreign businesses. In May, some of the largest firms in the country were requested to turn over 50 percent of their outstanding common stock to the government. The administration has also asked for "voluntary" contributions from several companies for a proposed housing project. Although Williams' demands were only an initial bargaining position and the government will proceed cautiously before establishing any legislative levies, Williams is likely to continue to press for an increased government take. Similarly, the US Government may be faced with a public request for the return of base facilities on the island. Williams already had made a private request for the return of the installations--a navigational aid station and a missile-tracking facility--before serious disorders erupted. The return of at least some of the facilities would serve to re-establish his tarnished nationalistic credentials.

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9. Williams' moves have thus far not drawn a clear political response. A new opposition group could well emerge from the black power activities, especially if former minister of external affairs A. N. R. Robinson, who resigned during the unrest, decides to move into active opposition against the Prime Minister. At present, however, the movement still suffers from a lack of organization, and the capability of its leaders is still suspect. Some of the black power groups are again arguing among themselves. Although increasing dissatisfaction with the political status quo was manifested early this year by the formation of several new political parties, none of these was quick to jump on the black power bandwagon.

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OTHER

1. Black Power seems to have made the greatest organizational strides over the past year in the small islands of the Caribbean.

2. On Antigua, the Afro-Caribbean Movement (ACM) has emerged as the best-organized, the most vocal, and the most outspokenly racist of the Eastern Caribbean black power organizations. It was formed in February 1969 by Tim Hector, a leading member of the opposition Progressive Labor Movement--PLM, and Robin Bascus the chairman of the ruling Antigua Labor Party. The ACM draws its membership primarily from the PLM, but it is not openly affiliated with any political party. The goal of the movement is to advance cultural relations between the peoples of Africa and the Caribbean who are of similar stock, i.e., the black man. It conducts public seminars and lectures, distributes pamphlets, presents films, and is encouraging Negroes to enter business, to generate capital, and to run their businesses and countries along modern and efficient lines. The organization has no formal officers. Its magazine, Outlet, began publishing in July 1969 as a moderate journal, but by October 1969 published more blatantly racial articles. Outlet, which is distributed throughout the Caribbean, reportedly is in financial difficulty and may be forced to close unless additional funds are found.

3. The Black Power Group (BPG) in St. Kitts was founded in February 1969 by Eustace Esdaille, a schoolmaster. The group originally consisted of a small number of teachers and students, but its membership now is reportedly drawn from a cross-section of the population and includes members of both political parties. The BPG stresses the cultural and educational aspects of black power rather than the political.

4. In Dominica, a black power group exists among the unemployed youth, but there is no real support for it. Interest in black power reportedly

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began in 1969 when it was adopted as a slogan by a group of youths who were fired with enthusiasm by the black power gesture made by two US Negro runners at the 1968 Olympics. The news of the Sir George Williams University riots in Canada added encouragement, particularly since a Dominican, "Rosie" Doublas, was one of the chief ring-leaders. Following a teach-in sponsored by the intellectual New World group, an organization called the Black Socialist Party was formed. The most recent black power development has been the founding of "The Roseau College of the University of Dominica." A "speaker's corner" type of forum, it was started by Dr. William Riviere, a lecturer at the University of the West Indies.

5. Black power activities in St. Lucia center around the Forum, founded in October 1969. Its membership includes civil servants and intellectuals whose goals are to keep the people informed of the social and political problems on the island and what is being done to solve them. The Forum is capably led and is gaining in popularity. It receives much of its support from the young and poor, and is fast becoming a significant political force. The commonly acknowledged spokesman for the Forum is George Odum, the general secretary of the West Indian Associated States.

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6. The black power movement in St. Vincent has continued to emphasize public awareness of the covert aim of forming a political party within the next five years. The center of activity is the "Educational Forum of the People" (EFP), which was formerly the Young People's Movement and the Black Power Movement. The Forum reportedly has approximately 200 members, on St. Vincent most of whom are civil servants. Virtually all of the leaders, including its primary spokesman Kerwin Morris, are teachers. The group has considerable influence because most of the educated young people

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of St. Vincent belong to it. They provide a potentially decisive political force since popular support is more or less evenly divided between the ruling Labor Party and the opposition Peoples Political Party. Some of the island's young educated elite are sympathetic with the social goals of black power, but they are offended by the strident tone of the Forum programs. The recent violence in Trinidad, which included an invasion of church property, has made them even more chary.

7. Black power so far has gained little influence in Grenada, largely because Premier Eric Gairy will not tolerate a cohesive opposition or militant leaders. Racism exists, but only among the intellectuals, who are generally opposed to violence. The Organization of Black Unity (OBU) was formed in Grenada by members of the Angel Harps Steel Band with the aid of Patrick Emmanuel, a Grenadian lecturer at the University of the West Indies. Emmanuel reportedly has a long history of left-wing associations, including contact when he was a student in Jamaica with the Cuban Consul. He is also a member of the New World Group, a Caribbean-wide cultural group with a leftist orientation [redacted]

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8. In the Netherlands Antilles, the Antillean Black Power Organization is steadily gaining political acceptance in Curacao as its membership and influence increase. Its activities are more concerned with political power as opposed to social reforms or racial struggles. Benjamin S. Fox, the leader of the organization, is working closely with the Workers Front for Freedom, a leftist labor-oriented party. Its goal is to achieve control of the government through a program aimed at gaining political control of the lesser islands and at achieving an electoral majority in Curacao. In the French Antilles, some black power activities have been sponsored by the Martinique Communist Youth (UJCM) faction, which is opposed to the orthodox Communist Party of Martinique (PCM). There is little information available, however, concerning the group's activities.

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9. In the Bahamas, there do not appear to be any militant black power groups of consequence. Some members of UNICOMM (The United Community), a Bahamian youth organization and fledgling political pressure group, have given voice to some of the black power themes. The philosophy of some of its radical members appears to be a blend of black power, idealism, socialism, and anti-establishment sentiment. According to a member of UNICOMM, the group has 700 members and hopes eventually to form its own political party. Some local authorities are concerned that the organization has been influenced by militant black power advocates.

10. Black radicals in British Honduras have had only limited success in arousing public sentiment. Black power activities have revolved around the Revolitical Action Movement (RAM), which experienced a leadership dispute early this year. RAM, originally the result of a merger in 1969 between the United Black Association for Development (UBAD) and the leftist Peoples' Action Committee (PAC), was renamed UBAD/RAM in February after several leading PAC members were expelled. The leadership struggle has probably further diluted its potential. The organization probably has about 150-250 members, drawn mainly from youth elements in Belize. Among its activities is a community food project for children. Although the movement has undergone some growth, it seems unlikely to become an influential force in the near future.

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